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Communist Party Is Rocked By Khrushchev Confessions

NAACP Political Policies in Light Of Recent Events

By George Lavan

It is two years since the Supreme Court handed down its decision against school segregation. Instead of picking up speed and scope the actual desegregation of Jim Crow schools has run into a roadblock. In the border regions desegregation has slowed down and in the Deep South it never even began.

The Supreme Court decision was the greatest legal victory ever won by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. At the same time it has demonstrated the inadequacy of the NAACP's traditional methods of struggle against Jim Crow. These methods are lawsuits and lobbying. The situation that now confronts the Negro people will not yield to either method. The NAACP is thus left without any means of bringing to realization in fact what it won in words in the courtroom.

Consider the lawsuit situation. The racist governors, legislatures and school boards of the South have already passed, or have up their sleeves, 101 legal gimmicks to prevent integration. The racists boast that they can prevent desegregation by litigation for 100 years. And the observer is compelled to admit they can — if the fight is confined to the courtrooms.

RACIST COUNTER-OFFENSIVE

The legal preparation of the white-supremacists is but one aspect of the counter-offensive they launched following the Supreme Court decision. They have frightened into silence Southern labor, liberals and "moderates" and now claim to speak as the voice of the "united" South.

This voice intimidated the high court into a toothless implementation decisoin and has half-convinced the rest of the country that school desegregation is impossible in the South. At the same time the racists have strengthened their already powerful grip on Congress and their influence in both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The NAACP's lobbying efforts not only have borne no fruit but have been dismissed more contemptuously by the politicians this year than ever before.

The Montgomery boycott shows that the Negro people themselves found the lawsuit-lobbying program of the NAACP inadequate. They took the path of mass action. Its effectiveness is witnessed not only by the empty buses but by the inability of the White Citizens Council officials of Montgomery to smash the movement and by the inspiring effect it has had upon the Negro people and their white allies throughout the country.

The heroic example of Montgomery unavoidably poses for the NAACP convention the question of adopting the powerful weapon of mass action.

POLITICAL ROAD BLOCK

But mass action, effective as it is, will not solve the great question facing the Negro people unless it is joined to a broad overall program. And that program must deal with the key question — how to break the political roadblock preventing dese-

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High Court Limits Firing Of "Risks"

The U.S. Supreme Court on June 11 knocked another chip off the police-state edifice built up during the administrations of Democrat Truman and Republican Eisenhower. This was done in a six-three decision declaring the procedures of the "loyalty" purge illegal when used against government workers in "non-sensitive" jobs.

The decision is important in that over half of the "security risk" firings to date have been of employes in jobs without the remotest connection with security, classified documents or policy making. These witch-hunt victims can now bring lawsuits to regain their jobs and back pay.

HIKING "SUBVERSIVE"

The ruling came in the case of Kendrick M. Cole, a former employe of the Federal Food and Drug Administration, fired because of alleged association with Nature Friends of America. This organization, which went in for hiking and outdoor life, is on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. Cole, a veteran, appealed his firing to the Civil Service Commission.

Under the Veterans Preference Act of 1944 he was entitled to such an appeal. However, the government ruled that Eisenhower's "loyalty" purge executive order, issued in accordance with a 1950 witch-hunt law, superseded Cole's rights under the Veterans Preference Act.

It is possibly significant that on April 20 of this year the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., ruled that the government's firing of James Kutcher, the legless veteran, from a job in the Veterans Administration, because of admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, also violated the Veterans Preference Act.

PROCEDURES AFFECTED

The June 11 Supreme Court ruling does not outlaw the "loyalty" purge, nor does it even say that government workers in "non-sensitive" jobs cannot be fired for their political beliefs or associations. It merely declares that the procedures used violate by their arbitrariness civil service laws which still apply in "non-sensitive" job categories.

It remains to be seen if the administration will honestly comply with the decision, or, as in the case of maritime screening, simply redraft its regulations to continue its "loyalty" purge but using different words.

Jobless Lines in Detroit

A common sight in the auto capital, Detroit, is the long lines of jobless outside unemployment compensation offices (top). Bottom picture shows unemployed auto workers filing applications for state unemployment compensation. Michigan's unemployed topped 220,000 at end of May. Over 90 per cent of auto jobless are ineligible for supplementary unemployment payments from companies because of loopholes in United Auto Workers contracts.

Leadership's Attempt To Divert 'Stalin Cult' Discussion Blown Up

By Daniel Roberts

Reaction of the U.S. Stalinist leaders to the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin has been made up of the following ingredients:

(1) High indignation over Stalin's crimes. (2) Breast-beating about their past cover-up for the sinister djctator. (The June 8 Daily Worker pleads it was "wholly ignorant that these crimes had been committed," but engages in self-criticism for having denounced as "enemies of the working class" those "who told the truth about them.") (3) Pointing to their record of participation in the class struggle in the U.S. in extenuation. (4) Assurance that "gigantic transformations" have already taken place and a call for yet more changes in the Soviet Union. (5) A new call for a regroupment of radicals in the U.S. leading to the building of a mass party of socialism.

The U.S. CP leaders have moved far away from their initial formulas "downgrading" Stalin. At that time Foster and other party spokesmen pleaded for a "balanced" judgment of Stalin's historical role. "In historical perspective we must assess Stalin as one who made important contributions to the building of Socialism in the USSR, but who departed from certain important Leninist concepts in later years. . ." Such is the evaluation given by Max Weiss, National Education Director of the CP, at the party's national committee meeting, April 28-May 1. His report, printed as a pamphlet appeared at the same time as the publication of the Khrushchev speech.

RAPID SHIFT

The Stalinists are now keeping awfully quiet about Stalin's alleged "important contributions." Khrushchev's revelations left no room for them any more. Instead the June 6 Daily Worker speaks editorially about "a monstrous perversion of socialist principles under Stalin's brutal rule." So rapidly have the U.S. CP chiefs shifted their expressions and terminology inside a few brief days.

Just the same, the U.S. CP leaders are no more inclined than two months ago to answer burning questions posed by their own members at the very start of the discussion about the Stalin cult. The members asked: "What were Khrushchev and his associates doing while Stalin was committing his crimes? Why did the American CP leaders shield these crimes? What guarantees are there that the crimes won't be repeated?"

These questions lead straight to a fundamental examination of Stalinism — its basic political program and its social origin.

But this examination is just

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Myra Weiss Talks On Soviet Events

Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president, now on a coast-to-coast campaign tour, is addressing public meetings on the recent sensational Soviet developments.

The meetings provide the opportunity to hear and discuss a Trotskyist analysis of the recently published Khrushchev speech to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Watch The Militant for the date when she will be in your city. She will next speak in Cleveland, Saturday, June 23, at 8 P. M., at 10609 Superior Avenue. The occasion is an Ohio Election Rally.

Brooklyn Symposium To Discuss Elections

NEW YORK — Four distinct points of view on "Working Class Policy in the 1956 Elections" will be discussed at a symposium next Sunday sponsored by the Brooklyn Compass Club. The speakers will be Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, W. E. B. DuBois, noted scholar and Progressive Party candidate for U.S. Senator in 1950, David Goldway, executive secretary of the Jefferson School, and Clifford T. McAvoy, former American Labor Party candidate for Governor and Mayor of New York.

A lively debate is assured since the speakers will present conflicting policies in the 1956 elections.

FOR SOCIALIST AMERICA

Dobbs stands opposed to class collaboration. The main plank in his election platform is furtherance of the class struggle of the workers through independent political action. He advocates formation of a Labor Party, regarding this as a step toward the establishment of socialism in America.

Dobbs says his candidacy gives all those who believe in socialism a chance to vote in line with their principles. It gives all those who belive in independent labor political action a chance to register their desire for an independent party of Labor, and all those who oppose the present bipartisan policies of the Democrats and Republicans a chance to oppose this political monopoly.

DuBois advocates a boycott of the 1956 presidential election. In an article in the March 26 National Guardian, after rejecting both the Democrats and Republicans as pro-war and pro-Jim Crow, he said: "The result of the election I cannot change, but I can at least refuse to condone it. I can stay at home and let fools traipse to the polls. I call this sitdown strike the only recourse of honest men today so far as the presidency is concerned."

THE CP LINE

Goldway, as an official of the Jefferson School, will presumably favor the electoral policy of the Communist Party. That policy is that the Republicans must be

FARRELL DOBBS

defeated at all costs, and the only practical way to do this is to vote for the Democratic Party, even though on all key issues their policies are identical with the Republicans. This will probably be the only out-and-out class collaborationist viewpoint at the Sunday symposium.

McAvoy, a leading non-Stalinist in Progressive Party circles took his public stand against the Stalinist policy of supporting the Democrats in a letter published in the Oct. 10, 1955 National Guardian. He said: "Let us have an end now to coalition with advocates of cold war, enemies of labor and the Bill of Rights, and friends of Jim Crow." He has not yet publicly stated his alternative.

The appearance of Dobbs and Goldway will mark the first time in history in the New York area that prominent Trotskyist and Stalinist spokesmen shared the same platform.

The symposium will be held Sunday, June 24 at 8 P. M. at the Sunrise Manor, 1638 Pitkin Manor, Brooklyn.

REPORT REVOLTS IN SOVIET PRISON CAMPS FOLLOWING 20TH CONGRESS

By Fred Hart

New strikes and demonstrations have occurred in the slave labor camps of the Soviet Union. Latest details come from a refugee, now in Israel, who was recently a prisoner in a Siberian camp some 600 miles from Tomsk.

According to U.S. News and World Report (June 8) when news of the new anti-Stalin line of the 20th Congress reached this camp, the prisoners staged great demonstrations. Their slogan was: release of "victims of Stalin's repression." As the strike snowballed they seized the camp commander and marched on two other camps to bring them out on strike. Troops were used to quell the demonstrators and about 200 strikers were killed, the refugee reports.

The concentration camps with their estimated 15 million prisoners are one of the politically most explosive elements in the USSR. In August 1953 a great general strike, triggered by the news of the East German uprising, broke out in the Arctic Circle camps around Vorkuta. For a month 25,000 prisoners held the whole Stalinist regime at bay. Sympathy for the strikers was expressed by Red Army soldiers and camp guards. Similar strikes have since taken place in other camps in the USSR all the way across the continent to the Pacific Ocean.

The most active organizers of the Vorkuta strikes were imprisoned members of the ITL, an underground youth group, whose initials stand for Russian words meaning "True Works of Lenin." The program of this organization is anti-capitalist and anti-Stalinist and apparently very close to Trotskyism. Another important group in organizing the concentration camp strikes was a pacifist-socialist group known by the nickname "Monashki," i.e. "little monks."

TROTSKYISTS STILL HELD

In April the Kremlin announced that in 18 months it would revamp the system of concentration camps in remote parts of Siberia and Central Asia. Moreover, there have already been some prisoners released. None of these, however, are known to include Trotskyists imprisoned since the early 1930's, or the Leninist or pacifist youth groups.

Ask Khrushchev Reply To Widow of Trotsky

John Gates
Editor Daily Worker

We call upon you to join us in demanding that the government of the Soviet Union reply to the message of Natalia Trotsky, sent Feb. 20, requesting that the names of her late husband Leon Trotsky and her son Sedov be cleared by reviewing the slanders and frame-ups perpetrated against them in the Moscow trials of the Thirties. Her request that she receive information about the fate of her youngest son, Serge Sedov, who was last reported to be in Stalin's prison camps, also deserves vigorous support.

Justice demanded that Natalia Trotsky's request should have been granted forthwith. Instead months of rude and disloyal bureaucratic silence has been maintained.

FRAME-UP VICTIMS

Khrushchev's speech to the closed session of the 20th Congress establishes once and for all that Trotsky, Sedov and all the principal defendants in the Moscow Trials were victims of monstrous frame-ups based on confessions extorted through torture.

In the light of these admissions how can the refusal to promptly and honestly reply to Natalia Trotsky's request be supported.

Trotsky's name has been dragged in the mud by the Stalinist movement for decades. His political co-workers and comrades were systematically villified and murdered. The frame-up campaign against Trotsky and Trotskyism was international in scope.

May we remind you that your paper and the Communist Party of the U.S. vigorously participated in this campaign.

The Daily Worker has now editorially declared that its past attitude was "blind and uncritical." We also note that the Daily Worker of April 2 asserted the "right to demand that the investigations in Hungary [about the Rajk frame-up] and the Soviet Union shall be full and complete and shall bring to book those responsible for injustice, no matter how high their position was or is."

These demands of the Daily Worker on the Soviet Government are fully justified. The fact that they have been greeted with dead silence, as Natalia Trotsky's request was received, should not result in discouragement of such efforts. For 30 years we Trotskyists have fought for the truth about Stalin's crimes. Now, after three decades, even Khrushchev is being forced to admit the truth under the pressure of the Soviet working class resurgence.

We think it is your duty to support Natalia Trotsky's request for justice and we urge you to do so without delay.

Murry Weiss
Editor, The Militant

SWP to Fight Ballot Ban Threat

DETROIT — For the third time in four years, the right of the Socialist Workers Party to be on the Michigan ballot is under attack.

The danger exists that, after complying with the legal requirements, it may be barred from the ballot this year by administrative decision. A ruling is now being weighed by Secretary of State Hare, a liberal Democrat elected with labor's support.

In 1952, when the Michigan legislature adopted the notorious Trucks Act, the Attorney General (a Republican) ruled that the act applied to the SWP and summarily ordered that it be denied a place on the ballot, even though it had already submitted the required number of nominating petitions.

1952 COURT FIGHT

The SWP and its presidential candidate, Farrell Dobbs, then had to go to court to regain their place on the 1952 ballot. It was also necessary to continue litigation until February, 1954, before the Attorney General finally stipulated in court that he had no case against the SWP and agreed to quit trying to apply the Trucks Act against it. (Just a few weeks ago the state supreme court finally ruled that the Trucks Act is unconstitutional, as the SWP had contended all along.)

The second attempt came in 1955, when a bill was introduced in Lansing to amend the election law so that minority parties would have to get 7½ times as many nominating petitions as previously. This move was finally dropped under the pressure of public opinion, led by the labor movement, after a public hearing in March, 1955.

The background of the third and present threat to the SWP's ballot rights is as follows:

On April 5, the SWP filed over 12,000 signatures for a place on the 1956 ballot. The deadline for filing was May 5, but the petitions were submitted early in accord with a practice that has become customary: Petitions are turned in early so that if some of them are held to be faulty the submitting party can have time to replace them.

This year, however, the office of the state director of elections failed, despite many requests and reminders, to inform the SWP that there was any complaint about its petitions until three days before the deadline. Even on such short notice, the SWP turned in another 2,400 signatures on May 5. Had it been given the customary notice, it would easily have turned in two or three times that many supplementary signatures.

No decision has been made yet in Lansing. But the press reports that the authorities, although they have not finished their check of the petitions, are considering barring the Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Labor Party on the alleged ground that their petitions are faulty or inadequate.

If this happens, thousands of Michigan voters would be disfranchised as effectively as Negroes are barred from the ballot in the South. It would mean that working class parties traditionally on the ballot here can be barred through administrative action after two attempts to bar them by law had failed.

WILL CONDUCT CAMPAIGN

The present Attorney General (a Democrat) has ruled that the decision affecting minority parties must be made by the Secretary of State. For the first time in several decades this post is now held by a Democrat, and a liberal Democrat at that. This is also the first time in many years that minority party petitions have encountered any challenge.

While awaiting the Secretary of State's decision, the SWP has already decided that it will if necessary seek court action to keep its place on the ballot, and that if all else fails, it will still conduct a vigorous write-in campaign on a revolutionary socialist platform this year.

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STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM - By Leon Trotsky

Is Leninism Responsible for Stalin Cult?

[The revelations coming out of Moscow constitute a striking confirmation of the brilliant analysis contained in the writings of Leon Trotsky on the origin, development and inevitable downfall of the Stalinist bureaucracy. The publication of the secret Khrushchev speech detailing the horrible crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy has unleashed a veritable flood of hindsight wisdom from the pens of capitalist pundits, Social Democratic camp-followers of the American State Department and assorted political wiseacres, all harping on the same theme: Stalinism, they say is the inevitable outgrowth of Leninism. Once before, on the heel of working class defeats and Stalinist betrayals following the first world war, there was a similar chorus. In his article: Stalinism and Bolshevism, Trotsky applies his scalpel to dissecting the political physiognomy of those who sought to discredit the very idea of revolutionary Socialism by identifying it with Stalinism. Written during the period of the Spanish Civil War, Trotsky's polemic is directed at the opponents of Bolshevism whose politics played no small role in aiding Stalin, "the organizer of defeats," in carrying through his counter-revolutionary policy in Spain and elsewhere. The article entitled: Stalinism and Bolshevism — Concerning the Historical and Theoretical Roots of the Fourth International, was published as a pamphlet in 1937 by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.]

Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow: it must swim against the current.

If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly-paid experience of the past. Fools will consider this policy "sectarian." Actually it is the only means of preparing for a new tremendous surge forward with the coming historical tide.

Great political defeats inevitably provoke a reconsideration of values, generally occurring in two directions. On the one hand the true vanguard, enriched by the experience of defeat, defends with tooth and nail the heritage of revolutionary thought and on this basis attempts to educate new cadres for the mass struggle to come. On the other hand the routinists, centrists and dilettantes, frightened by defeat, do their best to destroy the authority of revolutionary tradition and go backward in their search for a "New Word."

One could indicate a great many examples of ideological reaction, most often taking the form of prostration. All the literature of the Second and Third Internationals, as well as of their satellites of the London Bureau, consists essentially of such examples. Not a suggestion of Marxist analysis. Not a single serious attempt to explain the causes of defeat. About the future, not one fresh word. Nothing but cliches, conformity, lies, and above all solicitude for their own bureaucratic self-preservation.

It is enough to smell ten lines from some Hilferding or Otto Bauer to know this rottenness. The theoreticians of the Comintern are not even worth mentioning. The famous Dimitroff is as ignorant and commonplace as a shopkeeper over a mug of beer. The minds of these people are too lazy to renounce Marxism: they prostitute it. But it is not they that interest us now. Let us turn to the "innovators."

"The Dictatorship of the Lie"

The former Austrian communist, Willi Schlamm, has devoted a small book to the Moscow trials, under the expressive title, "The Dictatorship of the Lie." Schlamm is a gifted journalist, chiefly interested in current affairs. His criticism of the Moscow frame-up, and his exposure of the psychological mechanism of the "voluntary confessions," are excellent. However he does not confine himself to this: he wants to create a new theory of socialism which would insure us against defeats and frame-ups in the future.

But since Schlamm is by no means a theoretician and is apparently not well acquainted with the history of the development of socialism, he returns entirely to pre-Marxian socialism, and notably to its German, that is to its most backward, sentimental and mawkish variety. Schlamm renounces dialectics and the class struggle, not to mention the dictatorship of the proletariat. The problem of transforming society is reduced for him to the realization of certain "eternal" moral truths with which he would imbue mankind, even under capitalism.

Willie Schlamm's attempt to save socialism by the insertion of the moral gland is greeted with both joy and pride in Kerensky's review "Novaya Rossia" (an old provincial Russian review now published in Paris): as the editors justifiably conclude, Schlamm has arrived at the principles of true Russian socialism, which a long time ago opposed the holy precepts of faith, hope and charity to the austerity and harshness of the class struggle.

The "novel" doctrine of the Russian "Social Revolutionaries" represents, in its "theoretical" premises, only a return to the socialism of pre-March (1848!) Germany. However, it would be unfair to demand a more intimate knowledge of the history of ideas from Kerensky than from Schlamm. Far more important is the fact that Kerensky, who is in solidarity with Schlamm was, while head of the government, the instigator of persecutions against the Bolsheviks as agents of the German general staff: organized, that is, the same frame-ups against which Schlamm now mobilizes his motheaten metaphysical absolutes.

The psychological mechanism of the ideological reaction of Schlamm and his like, is not at all complicated. For a while these people took part in a political movement that swore by the class struggle and appealed, in word if not in thought, to dialectical materialism. In both Austria and Germany the affair ended in a catastrophe. Schlamm draws a wholesale conclusion: this is the result of dialectics and the class struggle! And since the choice of revelations is limited by historical experience and . . .by personal knowledge, our reformer in his search for the Word falls on a bundle of old rags which he valiantly opposes not only to Bolshevism but to Marxism as well.

At first glance Schlamm's brand of ideological reaction seems too primitive (from Marx . . .to Kerensky!) to pause over. But actually it is very instructive: Precisely in its primitiveness it represents the common denominator of all other forms of reaction, particularly of those expressed by wholesale denunciation of Bolshevism.

Marxism found its highest historical expression in Bolshevism. Under the banner of Bolshevism the first victory of the proletariat was achieved and the first workers' state established. Nothing can erase these facts from history. But since the October Revolution has led in the present stage to the triumph of the bureaucracy, with its system of repression, plunder, and falsification — to the "dictatorship of the lie," to use Schlamm's happy expression — many formalistic and superficial minds leap to a summary conclusion: one cannot struggle against Stalinism without renouncing Bolshevism.

Schlamm, as we already know, goes farther: Bolshevism, which degenerated into Stalinism, itself grew out of Marxism; consequently one cannot fight Stalinism while remaining on the foundation of Marxism.

There are others, less consistent but more numerous, who say on the contrary: "We must return from Bolshevism to Marxism." How? To what Marxism? Before Marxism became "bankrupt" in the form of Bolshevism it had already broken down in the form of Social Democracy. Does the slogan "Back to Marxism" then mean a leap over the periods of the Second and Third Internationals, . . to the First International? But it too broke down in its time. Thus in the last analysis it is a question of returning. . . to the complete works of Marx and Engels.

Bolshevism in the Revolution

One can accomplish this heroic leap without leaving one's study and even without taking off one's slippers. But how are we to go from our classics (Marx died in 1883, Engels in 1895) to the tasks of our own time, omitting several decades of theoretical and political struggles, among them Bolshevism and the October Revolution?

None of those who propose to renounce Bolshevism as an historically "bankrupt" tendency has indicated any other course. So the question is reduced to the simple advice to study "Capital." We can hardly object. But the Bolsheviks, too, studied "Capital" and not with their eyes closed. This did not however prevent the degeneration of the Soviet state and the staging of the Moscow trials. So what is to be done?

Is it true that Stalinism represents the legitimate product of Bolshevism, as all reactionaries maintain, as Stalin himself avows, as the Mensheviks, the anarchists, and certain left doctrinaires considering themselves Marxist, believe? "We have always predicted this," they say. "Having started with the prohibition of the other socialist parties, the repression of the anarchists, and the setting up of the Bolshevik dictatorship in the soviets, the October Revolution could only end in the dictatorship of the bureaucracy. Stalin is the continuation and also the banruptcy of Leninism."

The flaw in this reasoning begins in the tacit identification of Bolshevism, October Revolution and Soviet Union. The historical process of the struggle of hostile forces is replaced by the evolution of Bolshevism in a vacuum. Bolshevism, however, is only a political tendency, closely fused with the working class but not identical with it. And aside from the working class there exists in the Soviet Union a hundred million peasants, various nationalities, and a heritage of oppression, misery and ignorance.

The state built up by the Bolsheviks reflects not only the thought and will of Bolshevism but also the cultural level of the country, the social composition of the population, the pressure of a barbaric past and no less barbaric world imperialism. To represent the process of degeneration of the Soviet state as the evolution of pure Bolshevism is to ignore social reality in the name of only one of its elements, isolated by pure logic. One has only to call this elementary mistake by its real name to do away with every trace of it.

Bolshevism, at any rate, never identified itself either with the October Revolution or with the Soviet state that issued from it. Bolshevism considered itself as one of the factors of history, the "conscious" factor — a very important but not the decisive one. We never sinned in historical subjectivism. We saw the decisive factor — on the existing basis of productive forces — in the class struggle, not only on a national but on an international scale.

When the Bolsheviks made concessions to the peasant tendency to private ownership, set up strict rules for membership in the party, purged the party of alien elements, prohibited other parties, introduced the NEP, granted enterprises as concessions, or concluded diplomatic agreements with imperialist governments, they were drawing partial conclusions from the basic fact that had been theoretically clear to them from the beginning: that the conquest of power, however important it may be in itself, by no means transforms the party into a sovereign ruler of the historical process.

Having taken over the state, the party is able, certainly, to influence the development of society with a power inaccessible to it before; but in return it submits itself to a ten times greater influence from all other elements of society. It can, by the direct attack of hostile forces, be thrown out of power. Given a more dragging tempo of development, it can degenerate internally while maintaining itself in power. It is precisely this dialectic of the historical process that is not understood by those sectarian logicians who try to find in the decay of the Stalinist bureaucracy an annihilating argument against Bolshevism.

In essence these gentlemen say: the revolutionary party that contains in itself no guarantee against its own degeneration is bad. By such a criterion Bolshevism is naturally condemned: it has no talisman. But the criterion itself is wrong. Scientific thinking demands a concrete analysis: how and why did the party degenerate? No one but the Bolsheviks themselves have up to the present time given such an analysis. To do this they had no need to break with Bolshevism. On the contrary, they found in its arsenal all they needed for the clarification of its fate. They drew this conclusion: certainly Stalinism "grew out" of Bolshevism, not logically, however, but dialectically; not as a revolutionary affirmation but as a Thermidorian negation. It is by no means the same.

Disintegration of the Party

The Bolsheviks, however, did not have to wait for the Moscow trials to explain the reasons for the distintegration of the governing party of the USSR. Long ago they foresaw and spoke of the theoretical possibility of this development. Let us remember the prognosis of the Bolsheviks, not only on the eve of the October Revolution but years before. The specific alignment of forces in the national and international field can enable the proletariat to seize power first in a backward country such as Russia. But the same alignment of forces proves beforehand that **without a more or less rapid victory of the proletariat in the advanced countries the workers' government in Russia will not survive.**

Left to itself the Soviet regime must either fall or degenerate. More exactly: it will first degenerate and then fall. I myself have written about this more than once, beginning in 1905. In my "History of the Russian Revolution" (cf. "Appendix" to the last volume: "Socialism in One Country") are collected all the statements on this question made by the Bolshevik leaders from 1917 until 1923. They all lead to one conclusion: without a revolution in the West, Bolshevism will be liquidated either by internal counter-revolution or by external intervention, or by a combination of both. Lenin stressed again and again that the bureaucratization of the Soviet regime was not a technical or organizational question, but the potential beginning of the degeneration of the workers' state.

At the Eleventh Party Congress in March, 1923, Lenin spoke of the support offered to Soviet Russia at the time of the NEP by certain bourgeois politicians, particularly the liberal professor Ustrialov. "I am for the support of the Soviet power in Russia," said Ustrialov, although he was a Cadet, a bourgeois, a supporter of intervention — "because of its present course it is sliding back into an ordinary bourgeois power."

Lenin prefers the cynical voice of the enemy to "sugary communistic babble." Soberly and harshly he warns the party of the danger: "What Ustrialov says is possible, one must say it openly. History knows transformations of all kinds; it is absolutely trivial in politics to put one's faith in conviction, devotion, and other excellent moral qualities. A small number of people have excellent moral qualities. The historical outcome is decided by gigantic masses who, if they are pleased with this small number of people, will treat them none too politely." In a word, the party is not the only factor of development and on a larger historical scale is not the decisive one.

Triumph of the Bureaucracy

"One nation conquers another," continued Lenin at the same congress, the last in which he participated. . . "This is quite simple and understandable to everyone. But what of the culture of these nations? That is not so simple. If the conquering nation has a higher culture than the defeated, it imposes its culture on the latter, but if the contrary is true then the defeated nation imposes its culture on the conqueror. Did not something like this occur in the capital of the RSFSR and was it not in this way that 4,700 communists (almost a whole division and all of them the best) were submitted to an alien culture?" This was said in the beginning of 1923, and not for the first time.

History is not made by a few people, even "the best"; and not only that: these "best" can degenerate in the spirit of an alien, that is a bourgeois culture. Not only can the Soviet state abandon the way of socialism, but the Bolshevik party can, under untavorable historic conditions, lose its Bolshevism.

From the clear understanding of this danger issued the Left Opposition, definitely formed in 1923. Recording day by day the symptoms of degeneration, it tried to oppose to the growing Thermidor the conscious will of the proletarian vanguard. However, this subjective factor proved to be insufficient.

The "gigantic masses" which, according to Lenin, decide the outcome of the struggle, became tired of internal privations and of waiting too long for the world revolution. The mood of the masses declined. The bureaucracy won the upper hand. It cowed the revolutionary vanguard, trampled upon Marxism, prostituted the Bolshevik party. Stalinism conquered. In the form of the Left Opposition, Bolshevism broke with the Soviet bureaucracy and its Comintern. This was the real course of development.

To be sure, in a formal sense Stalinism did issue from Bolshevism. Even today the Moscow bureaucracy continues to call itself the Bolshevik party. It is simply using the old label of Bolshevism the better to fool the masses. So much the more pitiful are those theoreticians who take the shell for the kernel and the appearance for the reality. In the identification of Bolshevism and Stalinism they render the best possible service to the Thermidorians and precisely thereby play a clearly reactionary role.

Purge of Revolutionary Generation

In view of the elimination of all other parties from the political field the antagonistic interests and tendencies of the various strata of the population must, to a greater or less degree, find their expression in the governing party. To the extent that the political center of gravity has shifted from the proletarian vanguard to the bureaucracy, the party has changed in its social structure as well as in its ideology.

Owing to the impetuous course of development, it has suffered in the last fifteen years a far more radical degeneration than did the social democracy in half a century. The present purge draws between Bolshevism and Stalinism not simply a bloody line but a whole river of blood. The annihilation of all the old generation of Bolsheviks, an important part of the middle generation which participated in the civil war, and that part of the youth which took seriously the Bolshevik traditions, shows not only a political but a thoroughly physical incompatibility between Bolshevism and Stalinism. How can this be ignored?

The anarchists, for their part, try to see in Stalinism the organic product not only of Bolshevism and Marxism but of "State socialism" in general. They are willing to replace Bakunin's patriarchal "federation of free communes" by the more modern federation of free Soviets. But, as formerly, they are against centralized state power. In fact: one branch of "state" Marxism, social democracy, after coming to power became an open agent of capitalism. The other gave birth to a new privileged caste. It is obvious that the source of the evil lies in the state. From a wide historical viewpoint, there is a grain of truth in this reasoning.

The state as an apparatus of constraint is undoubtedly a source of political and moral infection. This also applies, as experience has shown, to the workers' state. Consequently it can be said that Stalinism is a product of a condition of society in which society was still unable to tear itself out of the straitjacket of the state. But this situation, containing nothing for the evaluation of Bolshevism or Marxism, and above all — the relation of forces between proletariat and bourgeoisie.

Having agreed with the anarchists that the state, even the workers' state, is the offspring of class barbarism and that real human history will begin with the abolition of the state, we have still before us in full force the question: what ways and methods will lead, ultimately, to the abolition of the state? Recent experience proves that they are certainly not the methods of anarchism.

The Experience of Spain

The leaders of the [Spanish] CNT, the only important anarchist organization in the world, became, in the critical hour, bourgeois ministers. They explained their open betrayal of the theory of anarchism by the pressure of "exceptional circumstances." But did not the leaders of German social democracy invoke, in their time, the same excuse? Naturally, civil war is not a peaceful and ordinary but an "exceptional circumstance." Every serious revolutionary organization, however, prepares precisely for "exceptional circumstances."

The experience of Spain has shown once again that the state can be "denied" in booklets published in "normal circumstances" by permission of the bourgeois state, but that the conditions of revolution leave no room for "denial" of the state; they demand, on the contrary, the conquest of the state.

We have not the slightest intention of blaming the anarchists for not having liquidated the state by a mere stroke of the pen. A revolutionary party, even after having seized power (of which the anarchist leaders were incapable in spite of the heroism of the anarchist workers) is still by no means the sovereign ruler of society. But we do severely blame the anarchist theory, which seemed to be wholly suitable for times of peace, but which had to be dropped rapidly as soon as the "exceptional circumstances" of the. . . revolution had begun.

In the old days there were certain generals — and probably are now — who considered that the most harmful thing for an army was war. In the same class are those revolutionaries who claim that their doctrine is destroyed by revolution.

Marxists are wholly in agreement with the anarchists in regard to the final goal: the liquidation of the state. Marxists are "state-ist" only to the extent that one cannot achieve the liquidation of the state simply by ignoring it. The experience of Stalinism does not refute the teaching of Marxism but confirms it by inversion. The revolutionary doctrine which teaches the proletariat to orientate itself correctly in situations and to profit actively by them, contains of course no automatic guarantee of victory. But victory is possible only through the application of this doctrine.

Moreover, the victory must not be thought of as a single event. It must be considered in the perspective of an historic epoch. The first workers' state — on a lower economic basis and surrounded by imperialism — was transformed into the gendarmerie of Stalinism. But genuine Bolshevism launched a life and death struggle against that gendarmerie. To maintain itself, Stalinism is now forced to conduct a direct civil war against Bolshevism, under the name of "Trotskyism", not only in the USSR but also in Spain. The old Bolshevik party is dead but Bolshevism is raising its head everywhere.

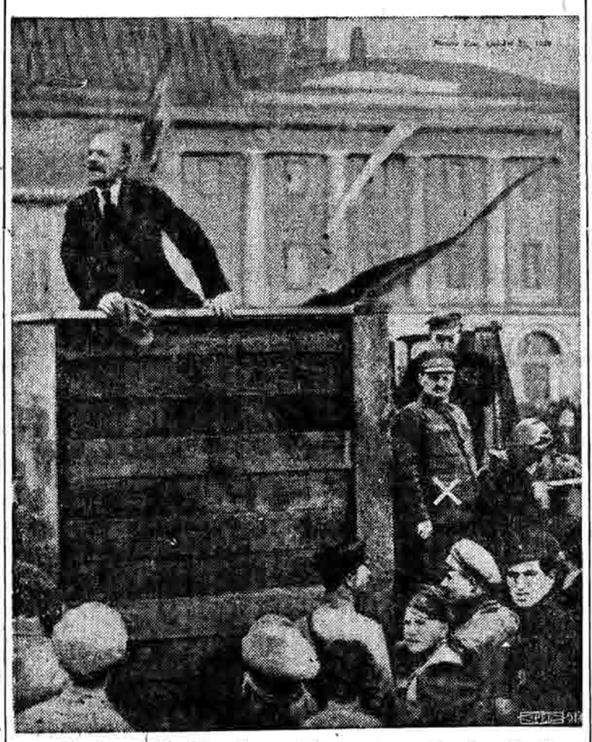
Liberal Cliches and Logical Flaws

To deduce Stalinism from Bolshevism or from Marxism is the same as to deduce, in a larger sense, counter-revolution from revolution. Liberal-conservative and later reformist thinking has always been characterized by this cliche. Due to the class structure of society, revolutions have always produced counter-revolutions. Does this not indicate, asks the logician, that there is some inner flaw in the revolutionary method? However, neither the liberals nor the reformists have succeeded, as yet, in inventing a more "economical" method.

But if it is not easy to rationalize the living historic process, it is not at all difficult to give a rational interpretation of the alternation of its waves, and thus by pure logic to deduce Stalinism from "state socialism", fascism from Marxism, reaction from revolution, in a word, the antithesis from the thesis. In this domain as in many others anarchist thought is the prisoner of liberal rationalism. Real revolutionary thinking is not possible without dialectics.

(Continued Next Week)

Leaders of the Russian Revolution



Lenin and Trotsky at an outdoor mass meeting to rally the workers in defense of the young Soviet Republic against the white guard and capitalist intervention armies. Lenin is seen addressing the audience. Trotsky, organizer of the Red Army, waits (on the right) to ascend the rostrum as the next speaker. For years the Stalinist picture-croppers, inside and outside the Soviet Union, have used this picture of Lenin, first having carefully "edited" Trotsky out of it.

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The Stalinist "New Look"

In psychological shock resulting from the revelations of the Khrushchev speech and in hope of rehabilitating themselves in the eyes of the American working class, the Stalinists in this country are publicly apologizing for their past sins and promising to turn over a new leaf.

The Daily Worker of June 7, for example, carries a front-page editorial, which says: "We were wholly ignorant that these crimes [of Stalin] had been committed, yet there was reputable evidence had we but listened. How then explain our consistent denunciation of many people as 'enemies' of the working class because they condemned these crimes? We were wrong, terribly wrong. . . What was unforgiveable and inexcusable was the manner in which we passed judgement — harsh and sometimes vindictive in tone — on many of our fellow Americans based solely on their criticism of the Stalin rule."

The editorial concludes with the promise that the Daily Worker will dedicate itself to the struggle against war, Big Business, Jim Crow and the witch hunt. "We have our place within this people's movement for a more democratic America. It is within its ranks that we must prove, anew, our right to be heard with respect . . . ," declares the editorial, and closes with the assertion — "We intend to so prove."

Is the Daily Worker's resolve to be honest in the future and to shun the crimes of the past to be taken at face value? No! The proof of all promises is in deeds, not words. The acid test will be that paper's attitude toward its most vilely abused and libelled target of the past — the Trotskyists.

Several weeks ago Pioneer Publishers tried to place an advertisement in the Daily Worker for one of its publications: Lenin's Suppressed Testament with an introduction by Leon Trotsky. It was disdainfully refused. How does this square with the above-quoted editorial's lament that "We were ignorant that these crimes [of Stalin] had been committed, yet there was reputable evidence had we but listened." Isn't the refusal of the ad continuance of the old policy and preventing Daily Worker readers from reading all the available evidence?

This past week the Socialist Workers Party tried in vain to place a paid ad for a public meeting on the Khrushchev revelations in the Daily Worker. Significantly enough the Daily Worker business office, thinking it was the right-wing Socialist Party, was willing to take the ad. When the misunderstanding was cleared up, a frosty rejection followed.

Khrushchev's discrediting of the Moscow Trial "confessions" leaves the Daily Worker unable to use the old slanders of "spy, provocateur, fascist," etc., against the Trotskyists. But bereft of its old vocabulary, the Daily Worker nevertheless acts the same.

Actually, its contrite and loudly-proclaimed "new look" is a hypocritical part of its right turn and its wooing of the labor bureaucrats, reformists and social democrats. For revolutionary opponents of Stalinism it cherishes the old hatred.

"Labor FBI" No Solution

Some weeks ago, an unknown thug threw acid in the face of Victor Riesel and blinded the Hearst labor columnist. Since then every labor hater in the country has been howling for an "investigation" of racketeering in the unions. The rabidly anti-labor Republican Congressman Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, is yammering for a "full-scale Congressional probe of labor racketeering." After seeing Riesel on TV in a "fist-clenched appeal for establishment of a permanent Congressional committee to root out union crooks," President Eisenhower declared he "wanted to do something about it."

On the basis of past experience with Congressional "investigations" involving the unions, Labor's Daily, June 9, warned editorially that any "Congressional probe a la McCarthy would degenerate into nothing less than a gigantic smear of all labor unions, and probably would lead to the passage of more oppressive anti-union legislation."

Alarmed by the swelling volume of the Big Business-inspired smear campaign, the conservative top union officialdom has announced a "cleanup" drive of its own. The AFL-CIO Executive Council has directed its Ethical Practices Committee to bring in recommendations. And just to put the frosting on the cake, Alex Rose, president of the Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union, proposed to the union's recent convention, the establishment of "Labor's F.B.I." to be "staffed by expert investigators for gathering evidence of extortion and evil-doing."

None of the proposals to eliminate racketeering in the labor movement even touches the primary source of the evil. The source is the bureaucratization of the unions. In order to carry out their policy of collaboration with the bosses the union bureaucrats seek to stifle all militant opposition in the ranks. Militant union fighters are harassed, framed, fired off the job, fingered to the FBI, and blacklisted. This dirty work is carried through with the cooperation of the union bureaucrats, the employers and the capitalist government.

Union racketeers can flourish only in an atmosphere of bureaucratic repression. Where there is rank and file control and internal union democracy any would-be racketeers are given short-shrift. Couple rank and file control and union democracy with a class struggle program that reflects the interests of the workers on the job and labor racketeering will be ended forever.

N. Y. Times and Political Morality

The New York Times has made extensive editorial comment on the Khrushchev speech to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The views expressed in these editorials, which have been echoed by top government officials, reek of hypocrisy and fraud.

The Times reports that it found it a "searing experience" to read Khrushchev's description of Stalin's crimes. But the "initial shock" wore off quickly and the editors were able to get down to the business of explaining "the sense of satisfaction (that) must pervade every opponent of communism."

Denouncing "dictatorship" in general, the Times points out that "the new Soviet rulers object only to an application of Stalin's 'brutal and inhuman' methods to themselves . . . not to the methods as such or the profitable result of them."

When the Times talks about opposing not some, but all dictators, regardless of "profitable results," the adage about people who live in glass houses is brought to mind. The American government spends a fortune to prop up the dictator Rhee in South Korea and the dictator Chiang Kai-shek on the island of Formosa. The Times has no quarrel with these particular dictators who act as pawns in the U.S. drive to preserve the private property system and the "right" to super-exploit labor.

Additional millions are spent by the U.S. on the hated dictator Franco. The "moral revulsion" of the Times against the Soviet dictatorship is curiously absent in relation to U.S. funds for the Spanish dictatorship.

The position of the Times on dictators is predicated on the dictum of capitalist politicians — Whose dictator is it? When it coincided with U.S. foreign policy, the Times was quite tolerant of the Stalinist dictatorship itself. It now says that it has long known of Stalin's bestial crimes, and that "two decades ago it was apparent that the blood of innumerable innocent victims had stained his hands indelibly."

We don't challenge this assertion. But a reading of the Times of that period, which carried the odious whitewash reports of the Moscow trials by Walter Duranty would not let anyone in on the secret that the Times knew the trials were frame-ups.

During that time the Times also "soberly" refrained from speaking out against the semi-official State Department whitewash of the trials contained in Ambassador Davies "Mission to Moscow" book and movie. The Times was equally silent when the State Department, during the war years, suppressed publication of Trotsky's biography of Stalin.

The spokesmen of the American capitalist class have seized upon the Khrushchev revelations in an attempt to discredit the very idea of socialism. They hope thereby to make putrid, decaying capitalism, appear less revolting to its victims. In the final showdown they will have no trouble aligning themselves with the bureaucrats and dictators of every stripe against the masses fighting for liberation from capitalist class rule and totalitarian oppression.

Anniversary of the East German Uprising

By John Black

The name of the city, Berlin. The name of the street, Stalin-Allee. The date June 16, 1953.

Work had already begun that morning on the giant row of apartment houses that were being constructed amidst the heaps of rubble left from the terror bombings which had destroyed the greater part of the city during the last war.

The construction crews of building workers had hesitated and debated for several minutes before climbing up into the scaffolding. Work quotas had been raised another 10 per cent and things were already much too tough. Everyone knew that brief work stoppages had taken place four days previously on the day new quotas were announced. Only the combination of persuasion and threats by their trade union officials had prevented a full blown strike.

RESENT PROPAGANDA

And after all the protests and strikes, "The Tribune", official paper of the Stalinized unions had come out with some more of that stuff about "the determination of the Building workers on Stalin-Allee to increase their output by another 10 per cent in an extra effort to over-fulfill the quotas for the Five Year Plan in construction."

Housing was greatly needed. There was no argument over that. But every new available facility was assigned to the Socialist Unity Party functionaries and to "Hennecke workers."

The Hennecke workers were the speed-up artists who by abnormal and superhuman effort and working under exceptionally favorable conditions had over-reached the demanded quotas. And then what happened? Everybody else was expected to produce as much as these Hennecke workers; only every day and all the time.

"The workers now rule. The German Democratic Republic is your state. You are building for yourself." That's what the government officials said.

STALIN'S CRUMBS

Old man Pieck and that Ulbricht with his goatee, who spoke with a soft Saxonian dialect but whose words were the harsh words of the Kremlin. Who had given them the right to speak for the workers of Germany? They had not suffered under Hitler, had they? None of that bunch had even experienced life under the Nazis. Living in the Soviet Union off the crumbs of Stalin's table for 12 years and then back into the saddle when the Soviet troops marched into Germany.

These were some of the spoken thoughts on that morning. After weeks of working together you knew pretty well who could be trusted not to report you.

And then it happened. It all started in Block 40. Using the back of the banner they had been assigned to carry on May first proclaiming their "support" of the Five Year Plan demands on them, they painted the slogan that summed up what everyone really felt: "We want lower quotas." Then they formed into a column, linked arms and marched down the endless row of blocks being erected.

START OF ACTION

"It's started... Here it is... Off we come and with them... Tools down... drop that brick... Foreman step aside, we march with Block 40." Building after building joined the procession, the march for lower quotas.

"Let's go and see the goatee. No good talking to anyone else. No more promises, we want action now. It must be the tops, no one else has any authority anyhow."

Their destination was the seat of the government, the imposing Air Ministry which Herman Goering had built for himself. Ulbricht and his fellow ministers had taken it over. By the time the demonstrators reached it their number had grown to six thousand. Men and women had heeded their call and joined the march behind the banner. The gates to the government building were closed. From the windows people were looking down upon them.

"We want Ulbricht. Bring out Grotewohl. Down with the quotas."

That is how it all began. It did not help when the Minister of Economics, Hans Selbmann, climbed on the table that was finally brought out and announced that he thought the demands of the workers were justified. He would see to it, he said, that the quotas for the workers on the Stalin-Allee were lowered.

MOVEMENT SPREADS

Things had gone to far for that now. What about all the other construction workers in East Berlin? And what about the construction workers in the whole Eastern Zone. And anyhow now that we have them on the run, why not free elections and a new government — one that really represented the workers, in deeds rather than in words?

"We must not stop now. Everyone out tomorrow. Let them all join with us. A really big strike. A general strike. Time to change everything." By the end of that day twenty thousand construction workers in East Berlin had downed tools.

But it was really on June 17 the next day, that the movement which had begun as a spontaneous protest of building workers over quotas developed into a political uprising against the whole bureaucracy and spread throughout all of East Germany. Before the day was over city after city in the industrial areas of the country went on strike. Giant meetings in the public squares, election of city-wide strike committees, jails were stormed and political prisoners set free.

REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

Not one slogan recorded, not one speech remembered, that had the slightest overtones of a desire to return to the old regime. Be it at the Bitterfeld rally, be it at the two greatest industrial concerns of East Germany, the Leuna works and the Buna works, be it in Berlin or in Leipzig, none called for the Nazis, none cheered for Adenauer, that priest-ridden ally of the Ruhr barons who ruled in the Western Zone by the grace of Wall Street.

It was the idealistic and devoted young communist girl who joined the construction workers action in Berlin who voiced the program of the uprising in East Germany. Had not Lenin said that the communists should lead the workers in their struggles? Boldly seizing the microphone she said: "Preserve the economic foundations of our proletarian power. Let us all stand together and build a happy new life in a free Germany, without occupation forces and without exploiters capitalists and landlords."

For the lack of a revolutionary party to lead the struggle the German workers uprising was thrown back. The Stalinist bureaucracy had to make many concessions to the workers but they also took savage reprisals against those who had been their spokesmen. The effect of the revolt was felt throughout Eastern Europe and inside the Soviet Union. Hundreds of thousands of Red Army soldiers stationed in Germany carried the true story of the revolt back home.

INSPIRES VORKUTA STRIKE

The men in the Kremlin knew quite well that this was a revolt of the workers against their bureaucratic puppet regime in Germany and was not the product of evil machinations by Western imperialist agents. They saw the Soviet workers identifying themselves with the East Germans. In the Soviet slave labor camps in Vorkuta the news was received with great enthusiasm. Returnees from the camps have told how the news of the East German revolt inspired them to organize and launch their own strike action. They were convinced the June uprising was the beginning of the political revolution which would topple the hated parasitic Stalinist caste and restore the workers to power.

History will record that to the workers of East Germany goes the honor of having struck the first open revolutionary blow for the whole world to see against the hated Stalinist bureaucracy. The fear that the workers throughout the Soviet zone would emulate the June heroes was an important factor in extracting the concessions which the Soviet bureaucracy is now making to the workers.

But the social forces set in motion by bureaucratic repressions cannot be swerved by meager concessions. The concessions will provide a vantage point from which the workers will gain new strength and gather momentum. It is along the path blazed by the heroic June fighters in Germany that the final struggle against the bureaucracy will unfold. Neither concessions nor repressions can in the long run prevent the ultimate victory of the workers against the bureaucratic deformation of the emancipating socialist revolution.

Seek Quick Steel Pact

Shaking hands before sitting down in Pittsburgh for negotiations are David J. McDonald (l), president of the United Steelworkers, and Clifford S. Hood, president of U.S. Steel Corp. Later, Big 3 steel companies agreed to meet jointly with the union for the first time in the industry's history.

STALINISTS ABSTAIN FROM ATTACK ON MOLLET'S ALGERIAN POLICIES

By Carl Goodman

In the vote in the National Assembly, June 5, giving French Premier Mollet backing for his policy of repressions in Algeria, the CP deputation of 144 abstained. This marked a change over three months ago, when the Stalinists voted for "Socialist" Mollet's bloody course in Algeria.

However, the French CP leaders did not change their basic line of giving political support to the Cabinet. They continue to orient towards unity with the Socialist Party tops as a first step toward a "Popular Front" government with the liberal section of the French imperialists.

CHANGE UNDER PRESSURE

The change in the CP vote came about under the accumulated pressure of the French working class in general, which hates the "dirty war" in Algeria, and the pressure of the tens of thousands of CP militant workers in particular. To meet this pressure, the French CP tops have had to OK mass meetings, strikes and demonstrations by party units and the Stalinist-controlled General Confederation of Labor (CGT, according to French initials).

The number of protest actions by workers and soldiers (both CGT and non-CGT led) has been so great that, according to the June 6 N.Y. Times, "Communist militants at the party base find it increasingly difficult to understand how their leaders in the party and in Parliament, can continue to support the Mollet Government."

OFFER LAME EXCUSES

Abstention was in itself only a small concession by the Stalinist chiefs to the aroused CP membership. If it meant abstaining from open endorsement it also meant abstaining from denunciation of the course pursued by French imperialism in its attempt to keep Algeria in subjection. The excuse the Stalinist chiefs give for not casting an outright vote against Mollet is that they favor his social welfare policy and his grant of formal independence to former "protectorates" in Tunisia and Morocco. But a militant campaign of demonstrations — as appealing to Socialist and non-party workers as to the CP ranks — would force the Mollet government not only to retreat in the Algerian war but also grant working class demands at home.

The real reason the French Stalinist tops will not break with Mollet is that unity with him is decreed by Khrushchev and the other Kremlin chiefs. It is the meaning of the "peaceful coexistence" slogan so insistently defended at the 20th Congress of the CPSU last February. This policy envisages a world status quo agreement between the Soviet bureaucracy and U.S., British and French imperialism. And that means a Stalinist guarantee for imperialist holdings in the colonial world.

In the official communique issued following the Mollet talks with Bulganin and Khrushchev appears the following statement regarding Algeria: "The Soviet Ministers have expressed the hope that the French Government, in the liberal spirit that guides it, will succeed in finding an appropriate solution of this important problem."

The "liberal spirit" guiding the French Government consists of torture and concentration camp imprisonment of Algerian nationalist militants plus use of 400,000 troops to crush the national liberation revolution. To this has been added hypocritical talk about "reforms" if the Algerian nationalists first surrender. Praise for Mollet's "liberal spirit" was also the hallmark of U.S. Ambassador Dillon's endorsement of the Mollet course in Algeria.

In the same "liberal spirit" the Mollet regime is trampling on civil liberties of opponents of the Algerian war at home. It has repeatedly seized issues of La Verite, French Trotskyist newspaper. La Verite has consistently over the years championed the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of the French colonies. In addition Le Libertaire, an anarchist paper, the liberal France Observateur, the newspaper Demain and the Stalinist L'Humanite have been seized for carrying sympathetic accounts of the Algerian struggle for independence. A number of prominent individuals are in jail, under arrest or police investigation for their opposition to the war. These include the well-known socialist writer Daniel Guerin, author of the recently published book: Negroes on the March.

A Letter To My Parents

By Murry Weiss

Dear Folks,

Right now is the busiest and happiest period of my life. The shattering revelations that came from the 20th Congress and from Poland were, of course, no cause for rejoicing. The news that hundreds of thousands of revolutionary workers and the flower of the cultural leaders of the Jewish people and other nationalities in the Soviet Union had perished brought grief to all class-conscious working people everywhere.

But you must remember that we knew of these crimes and cried out against them for many years. For us the meaning of the revelations is that the murderous gang that held power so long, torturing and twisting the revolution to their bureaucratic interests, are at last feeling the hot breath of the revolutionary Russian working class at their backs.

MOURN FOR VICTIMS

That is why our grief must give way to unbounded joy. Yes, mourn for the martyrs of Jewish culture, murdered by the Stalin regime; mourn for the fallen communist workers who fought Stalinist reaction and who, unlike the servile Khrushchevs and Bulganins, did not keep quiet; mourn for the millions of innocent victims of Stalin's hideous crimes: but rejoice in the rebirth of the Russian Revolution.

I was profoundly moved when Myra told me how you wept at the news from Poland. Dad's simple statement to her: "You were right and we were blind,' will not be received by us in the spirit of vindictive triumph. Our historic fight was not with the revolutionary workers. Our vindication is not over the bones' rank-and-file fighters for communism. You have both worked in the shops all your lives. You never had a stake in bureaucratic power — either in the USSR or in the union to which you belong. You are tied by life-long struggle to the cause of the emancipating socialist movement.

It was with a thrill of pride that I read Myra's report of how you told her: "Some of our friends, after hearing the ghastly news about the decimation of the Jewish cultural leaders, said 'Democratic capitalism isn't so bad after all.'" You answered "we reject this conclusion. They will never break us. We will fight the Soviet bureaucracy but will never make peace with the capitalist exploiters."

These are the words of honest militants and I have the deepest respect for the feeling underlying them.

A TRYING PERIOD

Both your generation and mine have lived through a trying epoch. We saw the black wave of fascism engulf Europe and then hurl its armed might across the borders of the Soviet Union. How many tens of millions, including six million Jews, perished in this flood of capitalist barbarism. And our two generations also saw the terrible blight of Stalinism descend on the land of the October revolution. How many of the best revolutionary fighters were destroyed during this reactionary blight? And how many lost heart and turned away from the revolutionary path?

But the line of revolutionary continuity has been maintained. Trotsky's historic contribution during those dark years of reaction consisted in his struggle to rescue the precious heritage of the October revolution and of Bolshevism, from obliteration at the hands of the bureaucratic usurpers.

The heritage of Lenin and October lives and pulsates in the awakening consciousness of the Russian proletariat. This is the mighty force that is shaking the bureaucracy to its very foundations. And with the rise of the Russian proletariat the whole world communist movement will be reconstructed. Already the colossal power of working class and colonial revolution has proven far stronger on a world scale than either imperialist capitalism or the Stalinist bureaucracy. What an enormous reinforcement the revolutionary awakening of the Russian working class will bring to these anti-capitalist forces!

FIGHT GOES ON

You are absolutely right. It is shameful to bow before decadent capitalism. After all, Stalinism was the product precisely of the capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union. It was the pressure of world capitalism and the heritage of the Czarist past that facilitated the rise of the Stalinist faction and condemned the first workers' state in history to pass through the purgatory of a bureaucratic degeneration.

Now that we have before our eyes the evidence of the invincible power of the October revolution, when we see how much was accomplished despite the unbelievable crimes of Stalinism, when we see the onward march of the world socialist forces, there is every reason to take heart and renew one's unshakeable belief in the communist future of mankind.

I embrace you and look forward to our reunion when we will have opportunity enough to talk as we did in the past, to assess what has happened and size up the new world that is being born.

Your son,
Murry

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XX — MONDAY, JUNE 18, 1956 — NUMBER 25

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

The 47th annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People opens in San Francisco on June 26th. Developments in the world struggle and in the U.S. struggle for the advancement of colored people are at a stage that could make this the most historically significant gathering in the organization's history.

Abroad, the colonial masses are demonstrating their determination to end imperialist rule and exploitation. At home, the Southern Negroes have entered the arena in combat against Jim Crow in their own name, with mass action. This is the decisive new factor in the situation. I the delegates recognize it, this year's convention will re-evaluate some of its old policies in the light of Montgomery and Tallahassee.

This year in particular, the NAACP should consider how its political action program can be qualitatively changed so that the power of the masses, already demonstrated through boycotts and other actions on the economic field, can acquire effective political expression.

The Negro masses have already laid the groundwork for independent action on the political field. After the sadistic murder o Emmett Till and other terroristic outbreaks by white supremacists in Mississippi, this country saw the most massive and militant nation-wide protest demonstrations in decades. In Montgomery, mere protest was transformed into effective organized action that raised the movement to new heights of solidarity and self-confidence. These are the things that have made civil rights the paramount issue in the 1956 presidential election campaign.

What can the NAACP do to make the most of this favorable situation?

The old policy and program for political action is not suited for this new situation In the South the NAACP has conducted court tests for the right to vote; in northern industrial centers, campaigns to induce Negroes to register and vote; and in the national and some state capitals, lobbying for legislative reforms. But that is all. The NAACP has been officially non-partisan. It has tried to coax or threaten politicians, but not select or control them The result has been some crumbs for a privileged few, but no civil rights legislative gains for the Negro masses as a whole.

This type and method of political action was tolerable only so long as the majority of colored people were isolated in rural areas in the South. What could a lone Negro do in a southern plantation county? Nothing. So the NAACP could plead, coax, pray and bluff, like union representatives in an unorganized industry who know they have no power to back them up.

But industrialization and mechanization have pushed thousands and thousands of Negroes off the land and massed them in cities and towns where they have discovered the strength of organized numbers, the methods and tactics of class struggle.

The next step is to recognize that official "non-partisanship" consisting of abstention from endorsing candidates, has been a back-handed way of endorsing what some leaders consider the lesser of two evils.

Now that Negro masses have demonstrated they can be organized for united positive action, it is time for the NAACP to give a different content to its "non partisanship."

(Continued next week.)

Labor's Role Not Taught

By Della Rossa

A vivid picture confirming the point made in The Militant recently that the school system has long been an instrument of capitalist class propaganda appears in the May 24th issue of Kenosha Labor, a Wisconsin organ of the AFL-CIO.

A New York school teacher, whose name was withheld to prevent retaliation, points out that the average school child knows nothing of the contribution of labor in building our country, "or of the sacrifices of ordinary working men and women who, through struggles and strikes, made possible our eight-hour day and our present 'high standard of living.'"

"Not machines," she writes, "but organized labor have given to the American people the leisure and the luxuries of which we are so justly proud."

From the schools, she says, the child will get the impression that "labor" is a racketeering outfit that stubbornly refuses to meet management halfway, composed of people who callously cut off milk and coal supplies.

The kids are taught to want to become business men, but in our increasingly monopolistic economy this is an unrealistic goal and can only lead to frustration and a feeling of failure. "Inability to achieve the goal of economic 'success' is regarded as personal defect, a flaw in one's psyche!," she writes.

Your child will learn about Ford or Walt Disney, this school teacher affirms, but rarely about labor officials such as Gompers, Lewis and Green, "and never about the union organizer, the shop steward or the Jimmy Higgins on the picket line!"

"Every year," she relates, "the Board of Education officially sponsors an essay contest run by the Chamber of Commerce. Last year's topic was: 'How Individual Enterprise Has Helped Make America Great.'

"When other organizations wanted to run another contest on the subject of 'How Cooperation Has Helped Make America Great' the request was turned down by the New York City Superintendent of Schools, William A. Jansen."

Our unnamed school teacher makes this important point in her article: Labor has become increasingly aroused to what's happening in the schools. This interest must not be confined to techniques and conditions such as over-crowding. The content is the basic question.

Akron is one point where organized labor has been aroused to question the very content of public education. This city is one of ten in the country being used in a pilot project by the anti-labor "Joint Council on Economic Education" of New York which was set up by Big Business to intensify the drive to teach the "joys of free enterprise" to school kids. Akron labor has countered this by organizing a Joint AFL-CIO Committee on Schools and Education to "combat business pressure."

Notes from the News

CARIBBEAN DESPOT Trujillo, who, to the extent a small country can allow, rivals Hitler and Stalin for deeds of bloody cruelty, has started a propaganda offensive in N.Y.C. The recent disappearance, and believed murder, of Dr. Jesus de Galindez, on the eve of his publication of an anti-Trujillo book has given the Dominican dictator a bad press in New York. Galindez' disappearance follows the assassination several years ago of the editor of an anti-Trujillo newspaper published in New York by Dominican exiles. Numerous exiles in Cuba have been assassinated by Trujillo agents. New York now has a number of huge billboards with Trujillo's picture and propaganda. On June 4 Dominican agents staged a pro-Trujillo rally in New York at which his opponents were implied to be "Communists," acting in revenge because Trujillo "is blamed for the fall of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala." Anti-Trujillo pickets outside the meeting, provoked into a scuffle with a Trujillo agent, were arrested by New York police.

* * *

FBI INFLUENCING FOREIGN POLICY. The N. Y. Times (June 4) reports a major obstacle to "expanding contacts between the U.S. and Communist countries" is the opposition of J. Edgar Hoover. His claim is that delegations from those countries to the U.S. would contain secret agents and thus make more work for the FBI.

* * *

TWO REACTIONARY DECISIONS were handed down by the U.S. Supreme Court on June 4. In one, Wisconsin's restriction of striking Kohler workers' right to picket was upheld. In the other, the Cutter Laboratory's 1949 firing of a local union president because of alleged membership in the Communist Party was upheld. In his dissent in the latter case Justice Douglas declared: "Government may not disqualify one political group from employment. And if the courts lend their support to any such discriminatory program . . . the government has thrown its weight behind an unconstitutional scheme to discriminate against citizens by reason of their political ideology." Both decisions were 6-3, with Justices Douglas, Black and Chief Justice Warren dissenting.

* * *

REPUBLICANS AIM FOR NEGRO VOTE. At a Washington conference of the Citizens for Eisenhower, the organization's public relations chief told delegates that a 5 to 10%-switch in Negro votes this year "would almost certainly mean the election of a Republican Congress." Plans were laid accordingly. One slogan recommended for use in wooing the Negro vote was: "A vote for any Democrat is a vote for Eastland."

THE ROAD TO PEACE

This pamphlet by James P. Cannon is must reading for anyone opposed to another war. It explains why peace cannot be won by following the Stalinist program and outlines Lenin's real views on this life and death question, with particular application to America.

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Stalin a Felon -- But Right! Says Strong

By William Bundy

NEW YORK, June 13 — "Stalin committed errors, abuses, and even crimes, if you care to use that word," said Anna Louise Strong at a Stalinist sponsored meeting here last night, "but the balance sheet of the Stalin era is definitely on the plus side." She spoke at a meeting under the auspices of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship on "Latest Developments in the Soviet Union."

For three decades now, Anna Louise Strong has made a profession at apologizing for the crimes of Stalin and Stalinism. In spite of the revelations of the Khrushchev speech, she hasn't yet been able to break the habit.

Her speech last night followed almost word for word, the article she wrote in the April issue of her news letter Today, which came out before the Khrushchev speech was published.

FINDS STALIN MODEST

In that article she said "From what I saw of Stalin in the early 30's, I felt that he was expert in committee action, in getting unanimity without pressure. He proclaimed 'collective decision' long before Khrushchev; his rise to power was precisely the rise of the party collective over the erratic individuals like Trotsky. Ambassador Davies found Stalin 'personally modest'; with this I agree. . . "

The fact that the Khrushchev revelations make that statement appear idiotic was simply ignored by Strong last night. She dismissed the speech by saying that it was not an official Soviet document, that it was published by the U.S. State Department, and that Khrushchev did not want it to be revealed. "Besides," she said, "it is only the first draft."

In drawing up her "balance sheet," she listed the economic advances made by the Soviet Union, the defeat of Hitler's armies, and the spread of the revolution to one third of the world, in Stalin's favor. She said: "Let us rejoice in all new freedoms, they were bought. . . not only by death of heroes in battle, but by death of men unjustly, and in mistakes. . . let us also give tribute to that harsh, even unjust discipline which in 30 years 'whipped up' a peasant land to a role it was not yet fit for, and thus built the economic base on which freedom can be safe and at peace today."

STALIN A RIGHT GUY

She also said Stalin was right on "socialism in one country at that time," and that he was right "in calling Trotsky a mischief maker." This was the only time in her entire speech that Trotsky was mentioned. She did not deal with the Moscow trials. None of the questions submitted on these subjects was answered during the question and answer period.

She completely ignored the fact, admitted by Khrushchev, that the crimes of Stalinism hindered the progress of the Soviet Union and almost brought military disaster. Throughout, she implied that they were necessary and inevitable.

"The most important abuse," she said, "was the unbridled power of the political or secret police." "But this body was not the creation of Stalin. It goes back to the days of the Czar. The Russian people have had a hard time breaking with the habit of political repression," she said.

DIDN'T WANT FUSS

She had known of the use of torture, anti-Semitism, and "unjust political repressions," she admitted, but said: "I know why I didn't make a fuss about those things to the world. . . I felt I was seeing something so vast and important that I didn't want to do anything to stop it."

Anna Louise Strong herself had become a victim of "unjust political repression" when she was arrested by the NKVD in 1949, charged with sabotage and espionage, and deported from the USSR. She was "rehabilitated" in March 1955. She said of this incident: "In a certain sense, I had it coming to me. I was boosting Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese revolution all over the world before Stalin recognized them and gave the green light. . . but there are times to criticize and times to shut up and take orders . . .to attack leaders at the wrong time is to lose the war." This is apparently her idea of how to "be careful about justifying terror."

The entire speech was an attempt to justify absolute and slavish acceptance of everything the Soviet bureaucracy had ever done, without admitting that any other course was possible. Since the bureaucracy itself has been forced to admit that much of its activity was criminal and avoidable, the speech was contradictory, confused, and confusing.

...Policies of NAACP

(Continued from page 1)

gregation and all civil rights legislation. On every front the Negro struggle runs into political barriers — in Congress (where no civil rights laws have been passed in 80 years), in the White House where Eisenhower refuses to use federal powers against the lynchings in Mississippi, to enforce school desegregation or even to call a conference on civil rights. In the Southern states where legislatures, governors and judges harass and even outlaw the NAACP.

Both Republicans and Democrats are even cutting down on campaign promises — worthless as everybody knows these are — on civil rights. Typical was the answer given to New Orleans reporters recently by Adlai Stevenson, the leading Democratic contender. Asked what his stand on civil rights would be if he were nominated, Stevenson, who has already won the endorsement of such rabid racists as Herman Talmadge, replied: "The platform will be drafted by the resolutions committee and not by me. I don't know if I will have any recommendations." (New Orleans Times-Picayune, May 29).

The administration is equally pleasing to the white-supremacists. They especially admire Eisenhower's stand that civil rights are state not federal problems. As the Christian Science Monitor (June 9) points out: "It is clear, Southerners think, that the president favors leaving state matters to states, that he believes in strong local government." It is on this states' rights line that the administration is aiding the current Dixiecrats attack upon the Supreme Court. Further evidence for the racists is the building of lily-white Republican state machines in the Deep South.

When the unspeakable Senator Eastland counts his blessings, he lists in his Democratic column such items as chairmanship of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee and in his Republican column the juicy patronage plums from the White House.

PLOWING BARREN GROUND

Despite the repeated failure of any civil rights yield from either Big Businss party, the NAACP leaders limit themselves to plowing this barren ground.

Technically the NAACP does not engage in politics. Its statutes forbid endorsing candidates. In fact, the weight of the organization has been thrown behind the Democrats in past elections by statements of its leaders. But it is not merely a question of putting the NAACP officially and fully into politics but into politics that pay off in civil rights.

The Negro leaders are divided today on whether to support the Democrats or the Republicans. Both sides have excellent arguments for not supporting the other party; neither has a good argument for supporting either.

It is time to break out of this vicious Republican-Democratic cycle. What is needed is a new party of the Negro people, labor and the poor farmers, a party without any ties to the Southern Bourbons or Big Business. A party, that in office, would pass and enforce civil rights laws.

Such a Labor Party would break the super-imposed "unity" of the Southern whites by attracting white Southern factory workers and farmers, among whom the spirit of Populism still burns. The building of a Labor Party in the South would go hand in hand with organizing unions, thus uniting white and Negro workers economically as well as politically.

Can the Negro people be the initiating force in a movement which will change the whole political scene in America? Yes! This convention can pass resolutions calling on the labor movement to join the NAACP in the building of a Labor Party. The labor bureaucrats, like the NAACP leaders, are deeply involved in the Democratic-Republican shell game and will resist. But the rank and file of the unions, like the rank and file of the Negro people, know that the political line of their organizations is bringing no results.

There are a million Negro workers in the unions. Given a lead they could become crusaders for independent political action. In addition to their own great strength they can win over millions of white workers to begin the movement for a Labor Party.

For those delegates who think the proposed path is too ambitious and too risky, we prescribe a little of the boldness and vision shown by the people of Montgomery six months ago. They have already achieved what doubters claimed was impossible.

And in November as a protest against both Democrats and Republicans, and as a step toward building the much-needed new party, ballots should be marked for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Weiss, the presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, which stands four-square for building a Labor Party.

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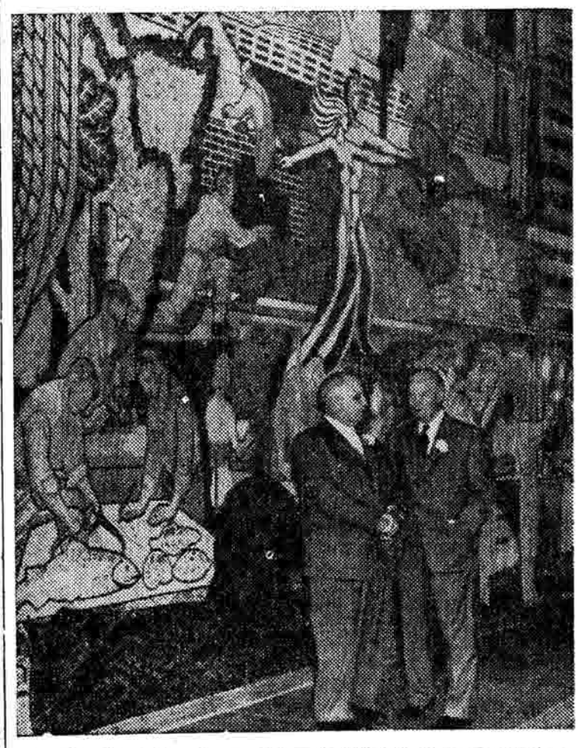

President Eisenhower (r) and AFL-CIO President George Meany are shown in the lobby of the new $4 million AFL-CIO building in Washington, after Eisenhower dedicated the new union headquarters. He said nothing about the role of unions as a means of defense by the American workers against Big Business exploitation. Instead, he warned organized labor not "to dominate" the individual.

Myra Tanner Gets Radio, Press and TV Interviews

MINNEAPOLIS, June 9 — Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president today set out on the next lap of her coast-to-coast speaking tour after three days of hard-hitting, well publicized campaign activity in the Twin Cities.

A press conference for the SWP nominee held here on her arrival June 6 was covered by the Minneapolis Tribune and by the Star. WCCO-TV brought in its cameras for the conference and at 6 o'clock that night presented Mrs. Weiss on the widely viewed Cedric Adams newscasts.

The Star featured an interview with the candidate by staff writer Margaret Morris who described Mrs. Weiss as "a 5-foot-3, iron willed," campaigner.

The Tribune reported Mrs. Weiss' view that "The Kremlin's repudiation of Stalin in Soviet Russia is a sign Russia's leaders are feeling the pressure of an embryo political revolution."

RADIO INTERVIEW

The Socialist Workers nominee was also interviewed by Jim Borman for his popular radio program "Editorial Roundup." This was a recorded interview which will be broadcast on one of the coming Sunday noon presentations over WCCO.

Mrs. Weiss' picture was also shown yesterday on WTCN-TV's Paul Severaid newscast which reported that the SWP vice-presidential candidate was in the Twin Cities and would speak at a public forum that night on "A New Stage in the Russian Revolution: Its Significance for American Labor."

The meeting that night at party campaign headquarters, which was unusually well attended, heard Mrs. Weiss describe the recent Soviet developments as a "vindication of the thirty year struggle of the Trotskyist movement."

MYRA TANNER WEISS

PRESS REPORTS SPEECH

The Trotskyists waged this struggle against Stalinism she said, while at the same time "defending the gains made by the Russian workers and the planned economy of the Soviet Union." Salient points of the speech were reported in both the Minneapolis and St. Paul press.

On June 6 Mrs. Weiss addressed the political arm of the Minneapolis AFL, the Committee of Political Equality. The Central point of her speech was the need for labor to form its own party as the next necessary step in the solution of its problem. She was heard attentively and was applauded at the conclusion of her remarks.

...American CP Rocked

(Continued from page 1)

what the CP leaders seek at all costs to prevent, for it will expose them as accomplices in Stalin's betrayal of Leninist politics in the Soviet Union and throughout the world. All the other crimes advertised by Khrushchev flow from that central crime. Max Weiss, in his national commitee report, speaking on the tremendous waste of Soviet manpower occasioned by Stalin's conduct of World War II, states, "It is not yet possible for us to draw all the conclusions from this mistake, for these would include the political conceptions which made it possible."

To preclude the membership exploring the "political conceptions" on their own, Weiss recommends that the discussion in the U.S CP on the 20th Congress be steered away from the Stalin cult. "Questions dealing with the mistakes made by the CPSU, "he complains," began completely to obscure the historic significance of the 20th Congress in respect to . . . the fight for peaceful coexistence, the new theoretical questions. . . ," etc. "We propose therefore to end this situation by issuing material to guide the discussion on the basis of a collective evaluation by the National Committee."

And in truth, leaving unanswered all the questions of the Stalin cult which had correctly preoccupied the minds of the CP members, the Stalinist leaders, with Max Weiss in the van, began diverting the discussion onto the so-called "theoretical questions." These included such topics of debate as whether civil liberties would be granted by a Socialist America to former capitalists.

The publication of the Khrushchev speech again puts the Stalin issue front and center. There it belongs and ought to remain while the discussion reviews the whole course of the Soviet Union and Communist Parties outside the USSR during the last 32 years and draws the necessary political conclusions. Only on the basis of such a discussion is a genuine socialist regroupment possible. For this CP members should be provided with all Trotskyist documents. For the history of the last 30 years is not only that of Stalinist crimes but of Trotskyist struggle for the authentic Bolshevik program.

BACK TO 1924

Khrushchev, himself could not touch on the question of why he and his associates did not block Stalin's crimes without going back to 1924. "We were in political agreement with Stalin from the time of Lenin's death," he says in effect. "We" joined with him in the fight against the Left Opposition led by Trotsky. (Of course, Khrushchev continues to slander the Trotskyists and falsifies the struggle as one conducted by Stalin with ideological weapons rather than rude, disloyal, bureaucratic means and police measures, as was actually the case.)

The distinctive "theory" of the Stalinist gang from 1924 on was "socialism in one country." This anti-Leninist slogan did not mean industrial build-up and collectivization. On the contrary, Trotsky and the Left Opposition were hounded as "super-industrializers" for advocating a five-year plan of industrial development. "Socialism in one country" meant fattening up the bureaucratic caste at home, crushing the workers' democracy of Lenin's time, and using the CP's abroad merely for pressure and bargaining purposes in order to arrive at status-quo deals with imperialism. That is also what "peaceful coexistence" means today.

To these ends, Stalinist formations arose in every CP, composed of second-rate careerists and disoriented elements. All opposition was ruthlessly expelled. The Trotskyists were slandered, ostracized and made targets of goon-squad attacks. A number of them were murdered. The CP's were thus transformed into Stalinist appendages.

Since its Stalinization some 28 years ago, the history of the American CP is not one of "devotion to the interests of the American working man," as claimed by the June Daily Worker, although revolutionary minded CP members have earnestly sacrificed to make it such. It is a sordid record of class-collaboration featured today by support for the Democratic Party.

Nor does history permit the slightest confidence in Khrushchev and Co.'s intention to restore workers' democracy in the USSR. The "gigantic transformation" over there has been with the Soviet masses — primarily the working class. They are beginning to assert themselves as an independent force. Already their energetic pressure has forced the Kremlin dictators to dump the Stalin cult and give economic concessions. In the near future they will rise up against the bureaucratic caste in a political revolution that will restore workers' democracy and Lenin's policy of revolutionary internationalism.